The Outlook

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The Opening of Parliament

The British Liberal Ministry again faces Parliament with at least three difficult matters on its hands, but Mr. Asquith and his confrères are accustomed to delicate and difficult situations, and so far they have been successful in dealing with them. They have been able to hold the support of the Labor party; that support is now, however, seriously menaced, and the loss of the forty-two Labor votes might at any time make the position of the Ministry critical. The loss to the Liberal party during the past few months of six or eight seats is interpreted as due to the dissatisfaction of the Labor element. So far the Government has been able to hold the vote of the Irish Nationalists; but the continued loyalty of this group of members depends on the energy and success with which the Home Rule Bill is pushed in the House. It is sufficiently advanced to be passed within a few weeks, and the Ministry are determined to give it precedence. The Nationalists' support depends on their confidence in the determination of the Ministry to send this bill to the House of Lords. The discussion, sufficiently rancorous from the start, has had additional bitterness injected by the determined opposition of Ulster, which has gone to the length of pledging itself to resist Home Rule by force if necessary. But here, too, the situation is likely to clear up by the adoption of some expedient which will protect Ulster against its fear of the domination of the other provinces. The Ministry is also confronted by very difficult questions of foreign policy. There is a very strong feeling that England has been made a cat's-paw by Russia in Persia, and many Englishmen of all parties resent what they regard as the betrayal of Persian rights. This criticism comes more from the Radical members of the Liberal party than from the opposing party, and is therefore the more dangerous. The Ministry also faces the difficulties presented by the Balkan situation, which is rapidly developing, and which involves international relations of great delicacy. Altogether the outlook for a comfortable session for Mr. Asquith is not promising; but Mr. Asquith is too much of a fighter not to welcome the struggles that await his Ministry. The three great measures before the present Parliament are the Irish Home Rule Bill, the bill for the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, and the Election Reform Bill, the last named an answer to the charge that the aristocracy has multiplied the number of its own votes about ten times, and deprived the working classes of approximately a million votes. In case the Home Rule Bill becomes law, it will be interesting to see whether the Irish members stand by the Government with regard to Welsh disestablishment and election reform. With the Irish votes and the Labor members the Government has a substantial majority. With a possible Irish defection, the Liberal tenure of office would be precarious. Under these circumstances, in order to retain the Labor members, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to introduce a new land reform bill to equalize the unjust conditions of land holdings in England.

A Modern David and Goliath

The story of David and Goliath was repeated last week when Montenegro attacked Turkey. A State less than the size of Connecticut against an Empire stretching into three continents! A population of 250,000 against a population of 25,000,000! An army of 50,000 against an army of 400,000 in peace strength and several times that number in war strength. Why all this? Because the Montenegrins are the most independent and warlike of all the Balkan peoples. Because the Montenegrins have never been subjugated by the Turks and are not afraid of them. Because the Montenegrins have reached the limit of their patience with Turk-

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ish promises. Those promises, extending over many years, have generally related to frontier reforms demanded by the sturdy mountaineers, Turkey's interpretation of boundary rights having been grossly unfair. But the Turkish promises also relate to reforms demanded by the neighbors of the Montenegrins, the Albanians. They inhabit the Turkish province of Albania, to the south of Montenegro (the Black Mountain), and, like it, a mountainous country. There are five times as many Albanians as Montenegrins. While the Montenegrins have always been free of the Turkish yoke, some of the Albanians have long chafed under it. The Albanians, like the Montenegrins, are a proud race, and they demand satisfaction for their racial aspirations. Many of them want entire independence of the Turkish yoke; others would be satisfied by a grant of the following demands:

1. The fusion of all Albania under one local government.
2. Only Albanians to be employed in that government.
3. Only the Albanian language to be used in the schools.
4. Only the Albanian language to be used in the courts.
5. Substitution of Latin characters for the present Arabo-Turkish script.
6. Reduction of taxation.

None of these demands has been granted. And not only this; little has been done in the school and road building promised to the Albanians by the Young Turks when the latter came into power. Indeed, the Young Turks actually attempted to disarm a people among whom, like the Montenegrins, it is an offense for any man to go unarmed or to be inexpert in the use of arms. Finally, the Young Turks attempted to enforce the Turkish language as the official tongue. The natural result of all these things was that many Albanians rose in revolt. Now they have the aid of their kinsmen and neighbors.

Montenegro, Italy, and Austria

Behind Montenegro and Albania stands Italy. The old Italian fear that Albania might fall under Austrian domination and that the Adriatic might thus possibly become an Austrian sea has for years been emphasized by many patriotic declarations in Italy, and never more so than during this year of Italian "imperialism." The increasing bonds of amity and interest between Italy and Albania were, in 1896, strengthened by a bond between Italy and Montenegro, namely, the marriage of the Italian Crown Prince, Victor Emmanuel, now King, to Princess Helen, daughter of the Montenegrin monarch. The Italian jingos, having annexed Tripoli, now want to annex Albania. But, failing this, an arrangement which would doubtless please them would be, in the event of a successful war by Montenegro, the annexation to Montenegro of a part of Albania. But how about Austria? As Albania would not be Italian, the arrangement might possibly suit Austria too. It should be remembered that if the Ottoman Empire should be in danger of breaking up, Austria expects to seize the Turkish territory lying directly between the Austrian southern frontier and the Ægean Sea. Albania is not on the direct line, no matter how pleasant it might be to have that country as a "side issue." The other great Power most directly interested in the matter is Russia, but her ambitions could be fully met elsewhere. With regard to the events of last week, however, the query arises: Was not the signal for the break-up of Turkey-in-Europe given at Podgoritza, on the Albanian border, when Prince Peter of Montenegro fired the first shot of a thirty-hour battle which resulted in the rout of the Turks and a complete Montenegrin victory?

The Declaration of War

The King of Montenegro dismissed the Turkish Minister at Cettinje, the Montenegrin capital, and the Montenegrin Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople demanded his own passports on the morning of the day in which, later, the King and his sons left for the Albanian frontier. Thereupon the Turkish Prime Minister cleverly complained that the declaration was made in a manner contrary to the practice of civilized countries, and in especial that it violated the rules laid down by the second international Peace Conference at The Hague (1907), to which Montenegro subscribed. The final act of that Conference provides:

> In case of serious disagreement or dispute, before an appeal to arms, the contracting Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers. . . .
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> The contracting Powers recognize that hostilities . . . must not commence without previous and explicit warning in the form either of a

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reasoned declaration of war, or of an ultimatum, with conditional declaration of war.

Hence the Minister stated three points in which Montenegro violated the international treaty: (1) that no attempt was made to seek the good offices of a third party in an effort to find a means of avoiding war; (2) that the declaration did not set forth any real or tangible cause for war; (3) that the Montenegrins began hostilities without granting the usual preliminaries. The question now arises, Will Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece follow Montenegro? Not if the Powers can help it. The aim of the Powers has been to prevent war; but, if war should arise, to localize it. As far as Montenegro is concerned, of course there would be little difficulty in localizing her war with Turkey; indeed, Montenegro would wish to have it localized among her practically impregnable mountains, where she has always waged successful warfare. If, however, the grievances of Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece are as keenly felt as are those of the Montenegrins, it would be natural for those states to join Montenegro. But this is with the supposition that they have Montenegro's independent, courageous, and aggressive spirit, and that, man for man, they are as soldierly. This is not the case. In addition, the jealousies which have divided Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks may still be counted on as a disintegrating force, even in face of the common enemy. The task of the Powers is thus proportionately lightened.

Nicaragua

Last week American intervention in Nicaragua was sadly marked by the death of several of our marines—so far as we know, the first occasion when any have been killed doing police duty in Latin America. The event occurred at Masaya, a city half-way between Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, and Granada, the principal city on Lake Nicaragua. Granada has been a great stronghold in the recent revolution. With its capture and the surrender of General Mena, the rebel leader, with hundreds of his men, the remaining revolutionists fell under the leadership of General Zeledon, Mena's ally, famous—or rather infamous—as the man who, in the face of an armistice, had bombarded Managua and wounded more than a hundred defenseless women and children. Zeledon was still interfering with the communication between the cities, especially with the movement of supplies, thus preventing famine sufferers from escaping to places of comparative safety. Admiral Southerland, sent by our Government in command of the bluejackets and marines who were landed to protect the lives and property of Americans, demanded that Zeledon evacuate his position or cease interfering with communication. Zeledon replied defiantly, and, after commanding his troops in an attack on our forces, fled from the scene, only to fall into the hands of the Government forces, by whom he was killed. The Americans drove the rebels back and succeeded in getting into the towns in which there is a large foreign element. Many persons were found on the verge of starvation. While our Government could hardly be afflicted with a worse misfortune than to be compelled to assume any responsibility for government in Nicaragua, the situation has amply justified the repeated requests for our intervention by the Nicaraguan Government, which admitted itself unable to afford the necessary protection to foreign life and property. The rebels had already killed two of our citizens, had seized and sacked our property, and bombarded our Legation at Managua. The Legation had received appeals from the European Ministers and Consuls for American protection for all foreign life and property—thus indicating our natural responsibility; in especial, to restore communication along the railway between the towns where foreigners were isolated and in extremity. Thus, when our marines arrived, they did not take sides as between the warring factions, but humanely operated as a body of police to protect foreigners.

Intervention, Not Aggression

Now that the main purpose has been achieved—the checking of the revolution—the purpose of our forces will be to restore normal conditions in a country where two months of disorder has caused a neglect of the crops and a stopping of business. If our effort in Nicaragua can be shown to be an act of aggression, then so were our acts in Cuba. Our intervention in Nicaragua will not have been in vain if it brings to the inhabitants of Central America some sense of the healthful, restraining influence which has operated towards the spread of whatever law and order now obtains in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo. With regard to all Latin America there are but two courses open to us. The first

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would be to abandon the Monroe Doctrine and to cease to exercise the moral influence over the countries south of us which we undertook when the Monroe Doctrine was first pronounced. The second would be to adhere to the position then undertaken. It involves not only the announcement to European Powers that we deprecate their acquirement of territory in the Western Hemisphere; it involves on our own part practically a moral protectorate for the Western Hemisphere. When we said to the foreign Powers, "Hands off!" we took upon ourselves the responsibility of seeing that the Latin nations of the South behave themselves so that the European nations *could* take their hands off—in other words, that the Central and South American states should act according to the laws of civilization. Moreover, in taking this responsibility, we have always realized, and never more so than now, that it must not be for our own aggrandizement. It has not been. This is the only condition on which we can retain the world's respect.

The Political Campaign: A Double Misstatement of Fact

The country has a right to expect, when a Presidential candidate is stating the issues of the campaign, that he shall deal with facts fairly and with exactness. He may properly draw his own deductions from the facts, but he must not state that which does not exist at all as being common knowledge. A public man who has in the past earned such a reputation for political sincerity as Governor Wilson has possessed should not violate this rule, and, when his error is pointed out, he certainly should not violate it a second time in his attempted explanation. In his speech at Gary Governor Wilson, as stenographically reported by papers which support him, said, speaking of corporations of a monopolistic character in general and of the United States Steel Corporation in particular: "It is to the interest of these gentlemen that monopoly be maintained, and they are supporting the Bull Moose party because the Bull Moose party expects to maintain monopoly." Later, at Pueblo, he said: "It is a very interesting circumstance that the United States Steel Corporation is behind the third party programme as regards the regulation of the trusts." These declarations, coupled with his remarks about the trusts "joining the hallelujah chorus," were, so far as we have noted, universally regarded as meaning that the trusts, and one trust in particular, were backing and supporting the Progressive party. Whether financial support was implied or not is immaterial; the statement, even without that natural inference, is absolutely without foundation. Interpreting the allegation as every one else did, Mr. Roosevelt at once challenged its correctness and called upon Governor Wilson to adduce his proof or retract the assertion. What followed may be told in the words of Mr. Roosevelt's speech at Duluth:

> Mr. Wilson had no proof; he had not a particle of evidence, corroborative or otherwise. He could not make his statements good, and he would not manfully retract them; so he made public an explanation in which he said in reference to the United States Steel Corporation: "What I meant was that they are supporting him with their thought."
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> Mr. Wilson is not a mind reader. I have not the slightest interest in his belief as to what the "thought" of a trust magnate is. It is sheer nonsense to treat such an accusation as that Mr. Wilson made in Gary, Indiana, as being meant merely to imply that the Steel Corporation was supporting me with its "thought."

Even if one regards the charge as being in effect that the capitalists of the Steel Corporation individually gave Mr. Roosevelt their moral support, the assertion falls to the ground. A Wall Street news agency, in its reports, remarks that the Progressive candidate would be lucky if three of the corporation's twenty-three directors voted for him—upon which Mr. Roosevelt remarked that three would be three times as many as he expected. Laying aside the phrasing of Governor Wilson's statement, we think that it would be perfectly fair to state the meaning which he finally settled upon as his own to be this: Mr. Roosevelt and the trusts believe in the same way of dealing with monopoly; this way would make the Nation a partner with the trusts and would perpetuate monopoly; naturally, therefore, the trusts "in thought," if not by purse and votes, are behind that plan. This is going from bad to worse; if Governor Wilson thinks it credible, well and good; one may be astonished at such a belief, but we may allow every statesman his own vagary of opinion. But when he alleges that partnership with monopoly and perpetuation of it are to be found in the Progressive platform and the utterances of its leaders, he makes as direct a misstatement of fact as when he stated that the monopolistic corporations are backing the

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